1: Karsten--88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
413, 751 (1928-29)

"Very frequently a comb of Indian manufacture is stuck in the hair on the back of their heads, being regarded at the same time as an ornament and as a magical amulet."

1: Karsten--91-92 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751 (1928-29)

"At feasts the men frequently have the back, shoulders, and breast covered with a large ornament consisting of the pepper-like seeds of a tree, strung together in many rows and very [92] fragrant. These ornaments are called payaśhnya, and owing to their fragrance and other properties are regarded as a magical protection for the body against disease and witchcraft. A decoction of the same seeds is taken by the Indians as a remedy against fever. Other and smaller bundles composed of the same peppercorns, of vanilla sheaths, certain dry fruit shells, and other things, are not regarded as ornaments or decorations at all, but are simply amulets the object of which is to protect the wearer against disease. These 'medical' ornaments are called mamuśa; they are worn only by women who fix them at their breasts."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751, 826 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--235 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 854, 751 (1928-29)

"Since children are always delicate and liable to fall ill the Indians try to protect their sucking babies by, among other things, different amulets consisting of animals' teeth and claws, 'medical' collars of fragrant seeds, shells etc. Still more common is prophylactic body-painting with roucou mixed with certain other ingredients, and accordingly called karawira, áratinyu, etc. Since small children are very liable to fall ill through witchery, the parents generally take care not to show their babes to strangers visiting the house, lest they should be harmed by the 'evil eye' or in some other mysterious way. As a rule the Indian woman never leaves her sucking babe alone in the house when she goes out, but takes it with her wherever she goes, carrying it at the breast if it is quite small, on the back when it is a little bigger. Thus when she goes to the manioc plantation to fetch manioc she nearly always has her babe with her, carrying home both the heavy basket with manioc roots and her child. "

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

"Exactly the same may be said of many other ornaments of the Indians, for instance of the big ear-tubes, arúsa, the armlets of iguana skin, súnday, and of other adornments worn on the breast, round the neck, the arms, or the legs. Thus a Jibaro warrior is of opinion that the ear-tubes make him strong and valiant and therefore wears them as big as possible. For their great feasts the Indians especially adorn them-[427]selves in different ways since at the dances and other ceremonies thereby performed they enter into relation with the spirits. Thus both the feather ornaments, tawásа, the magnificent ornament for the back called tayukúnchi, and the large collars of fragrant seeds called payáshnya, used both by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, are in fact a sort of magical charms and are believed to give their wearers power of resistance against the spirits. To illustrate this fact I may mention that at one of the most important ceremonies of the victory feast, the 'washing of the tsantsa', the priestess, when she has to officiate, wears both a feather crown on her head and the necklace múpish, which are put on her by the priest before the ceremony begins. Normally the women never wear feather crowns, nor the necklace múpish. The small bunches of dry fruit shells, animals' teeth and claws, fragrant seeds and herbs which are worn at the breast by the Jibaro women and called mamúta, have exclusively a medical and magical significance: they are believed to protect the wearer against catarrhs and other illnesses. Such charms are also frequently hung round the neck or

at the breast of small children for the same purpose. Collars of jaguar's teeth, worn especially by warriors and medicine-men, are--like the ear-tubes, the pigtails, etc. --supposed to impart strength and courage to the wearer."

"Besides the dress and all those fixed or detachable ornaments to which the Indians pay so much attention, there is another ornamental arrangement which likewise is chiefly of a magical or religious character, namely the facial and body-painting. It is only in exceptional cases that body-painting has--from our point of view--a practical aim. Thus my Indian baggage bearers frequently used, before starting for a journey, to paint the nether part of their back with genipa so as to give the skin more resistance. The juice obtained from the genipa tree (Genipa americana) is very astringent and causes the skin to contract as if it were curried. For the same reason the Indians also are in the habit of painting their face with genipa before canoeing, since it affords some protection against the rays of the sun. But in all other cases both the black painting with genipa and the red painting with roucou has a purely magical significance.

There are four kinds of red painting, but the chief ingredient is always the roucou (Bixa orellana). Very frequently the Indian paints himself only with pure roucou (ipyáku), i. e., with the seeds directly taken from the shrub and mashed. Another kind of red paint is the muspa mentioned before (p. 214) in connection with the magical plant simaika which forms [428] its chief ingredient. A third red paint is called karawira and prepared in the following way. The leaves of a certain plant called tai are dried, pulverized, and mixed with the seeds of the roucou. The mass is passed through a sieve consisting of a piece of linen, the juice or essence of it is collected in a small

clay pot, and the pot placed on a fire where the liquid is allowed slowly to dry up. The powder left in the pot is further dried in the sun and then put into a small gourd, which the Indians generally keep in the bag called uyúna. --The fourth and last red paint is the one called áratinyu and consists of mashed roucou seeds mixed with the oil obtained from the oil-bird tayu (Steatornis).

The Indians seem to use these four kinds of red paint indiscriminately, although in certain cases pure roucou (ipyáku) is preferred.

The fundamental idea underlying the custom of painting the face and the body is the same as that of the majority of other ornaments, namely, that it gives the body strength and affords an efficacious protection against disease and witchcraft and evil influences in general. Thus among the Canelos Indians facial painting, whilst having nearly always a magical or mysterious significance, is applied for various particular purposes. It is believed to protect the Indian against disease, for instance against the 'evil wind', huaira ungüi, that is, the illnesses which according to the idea of the Indians is carried about by certain winds. It is regarded as a powerful charm against witchcraft in general and especially against the evil eye, just as on the other hand it may act as a love charm which makes the Indian capable of seducing women. Further, as we have seen, the Canelos Indians regard the red painting as a hunting charm; it attracts the game and gives good luck in hunting. Hence, before the men start for a hunting

expedition, their wives always paint them red in the face with roucou; otherwise, it is believed, they would not be able to kill any game. Even the hunting dogs are profusely coated on the back with crude roucou before starting. The savage Jibaros, although they do not regard facial painting particularly as a hunting charm, still in the main have the same ideas about its wonderful power of strengthening the body. When the Indian is in a state of taboo and is consequently forbidden to wear the ordinary dress and ornaments, to tie up his hair, etc., he is also forbidden to paint his face, and looks pale and sick. For religious dances and feasts, on the other hand, the Indians never omit to paint their face with care, enhancing thereby the natural magical power of their body. The medicine-men and sorcerers especially, when exercising their art, are always, for the same reason, painted black or [429] red in the face. Sometimes the cheeks and other parts of the face are simply coated red or blackened, but more frequently special ornaments are applied. The latter will be dealt with in the chapter on Indian art.

I may add in this connection that the Jibaros are also in the habit of blackening their teeth by using the leaves of two plants. The one is calle piu and grows wild, the other, which is a cultivated vine, is called nashúmbi. I have not received positive information as to the ideas underlying this custom.

We have seen that the black painting applied with genipa for a war has likewise a

magical significance. The Indians fancy that they acquire the strength and ferocity of the demons (iguanchi) by blackening their body and face for the demons, too, appear blackened in this way. Again, when the warrior returns from the battle after having slain an enemy, he again paints his body black, the painting then being regarded as a protection against the slain enemy."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, i. e. the contagion."

1: Karsten--510 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 751, 515 (1928-29)

"....Indian hygiene is very defective, although it is evident that these children of nature generally have much more resistance against infecting microbes than a white man. In certain other respects, on the other hand, they give evidence of a natural hygiene which may serve even civilized people as an example. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, like all forest Indians in the Amazon region, are cleanly. Thus both men, women, and children take a bath every day in the little river on the banks of which their home is situated, but frequently they bathe twice a day. All dirt and waste is carefully removed from the house by daily sweeping, nor are any dirt or refuse heaps tolerated in the neighbourhood of it. Superstition itself has in some cases tended to develop the hygienic sense of the Indians. On this point I beg to refer to the fact that after a death all those clothes, eating plates, etc., which have been in intimate contact with the defunct are destroyed by burning and that, in the case of an epidemic, the whole village is destroyed and abandoned by its inhabitants."

3: Simson--388-389 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 827, 751, 262

"The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather--a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo--arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit; certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent 'gorging' in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy--and less brave--than most other similarly placed [389] tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator--more astute and fearless they certainly are--it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

killed many times, so will you." Without another word the old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father. The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask